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LAWS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN SOCIALLY
AND ECONOMICALLY RETARDED COUNTRIES

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FOREWORD

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LAWS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN SOCIALLY
AND ECONOMICALLY RETARDED COUNTRIES

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Our modern age, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution is the age of transition from socialism to Communism. For this reason, the study and the elucidation of the general developmental laws [zakonomernosti] of the transition to socialism, laws which have been established by Marxism-Leninism, and the characteristics of this transition in various countries is of practical significance.

The Communist and workers' parties of all countries give particular attention to the problem of the general features and characteristics of the transition to socialism. This problem is one of the fundamental problems which were examined at the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries. This conference took place in Moscow in November 1957.

In the political life and economic works devoted to the question of the modes of transition to socialism and published between the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, the primary emphasis is on indicating the laws and characteristics of the building of socialism in countries which have a high or intermediate level of capitalist development, in other words, for those countries which are in the process of accomplishing the transition from capitalism to socialism. There are also articles and monographs which, using examples from the histories of various peoples, examine the conditions, methods, and rates of the transition from pre-capitalist forms of economy to socialism.

The author of the present article, using the teachings of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism on the non-capitalist path of development and using factual data from party and state documents and from articles and monographs which treat the transition to socialism by various backward peoples, will attempt to brief and generalized form to define the question of the laws and characteristics of the transition to socialism by socially and economically backward peoples, considering the experience of all peoples which have bypassed capitalism and its bourgeois democracy.

The Teachings of the Classic Writers of Marxism-Leninism Concerning the Possibility and the Necessity of the Non-Capitalist Path of Development

World history bears witness to the fact that many peoples, because of the influence of neighbors with higher modes of production, or for other historic reasons, do not pass through this or that social-economic formation. For example, the Slavs, the Germans, and the Mongols never knew the slave-owning system, and the Americans bypassed the feudal form of society.

K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, therefore never asserted that every people must necessarily progress through every rung of the historical ladder. They believed moreover, that under certain historical conditions, it was possible for individual countries to make the transition to socialism bypassing capitalism. But the theoreticians of reformism did not agree with this, as can be seen from the arguments made by the Netherlands Socialist Van-Kol' at the 1905 Amsterdam Congress of the Second International. Van-Kol' was considered an outstanding theoretician on the colonial question, and at the congress, he said "capitalism is an inevitable stage of economic evolution.... The hypothesis of K. Marx that some countries may, albeit only partially, bypass the capitalist period in their economic evolution has not been vindicated." [Footnote: Van-Kol', Kolonial'naya Politika i Sotsial-Demokratiya (Colonial Policy and Social-Democracy), Spb, 1906, p 13.] Some modern reformists are still preaching the dogma that capitalism is allegedly an inevitable stage in the development of any people; they advise the peoples of backward countries to throw aside their hopes to rid themselves of capitalism indefinitely. For example, the British reformist, Philip Spratt, interpreting in his own way the general historical outline of the sequences of social-economic formations presented by K. Marx in his "Critique of Political Economy," believes that "a feudal culture must go through a period of capitalism before a socialist revolution can be undertaken, and a tribal culture must pass through feudalism and capitalism before it can pass through socialism." [Footnote: Philip Spratt, A New Look at Marx, London, 1957, p 47.] Here he accuses V. I. Lenin and the Chinese Communists of repudiating Marx by beginning the construction of socialism among backward peoples. Thus we see that Spratt did not read Marx as Van-Kol' did.

Let us turn to the teachings of K. Marx and F. Engels on the question of whether or not it is possible for individual countries or groups of countries to bypass capitalism in making the transition to socialism.

In 1882, in their foreword to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto, they wrote that, if the Russian revolution should serve as a signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, the victory of the socialist revolution in the West would pave the way for a non-capitalist development of Russia. Engels emphasized this idea and broadened it to include other backward countries in 1894, in a postscript to his article

entitled "Concerning Societal Relationships in Russia." He wrote:
"Only when the capitalist economy is overthrown... in countries where it has reached its maturity... only then can these backward countries undertake this shortened path of development. But if these conditions are met, their success is assured. This applies not only to Russia, but to all countries which are in their pre-capitalist stage of development."
[Footnote: K. Marx and F. Engels, Sochineniya (Works), Vol 16, Part II, p. 394.]

Thus, the founders of scientific socialism believed that the non-capitalist development of backward countries is possible, but that it is possible only after the simultaneous victory of a proletarian revolution in advanced countries. Marx and Engels viewed the question of the transition to socialism by backward countries as part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a problem which they viewed on an international scale based on their analysis of pre-monopoly capitalism.

The question of the possibility and the necessity of a transition to socialism by countries having pre-capitalist relationships was studied by V. I. Lenin; indeed it was he who exercised the practical leadership of its implementation. Lenin was concerned with this question in connection with the development of his new theory of the socialist revolution, especially with a view to the victory of the October Revolution in Russia. At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, V. I. Lenin said that "with the aid of the proletariat of advanced countries, backward countries may make the transition to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, they can make the transition to Communism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development." [Footnote: V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 31, p. 219.] Here, he was proceeding from the thesis that after the victory of a socialist revolution in one country or, even better, in several countries, historical conditions on this planet would undergo a fundamental change: imperialism would become weaker, a crisis would occur in the colonial system of imperialism, and there would be an opportunity for backward peoples to rely on the material and other support of a country in which the support of a country in which the working class had emerged victorious and to use that country's experience in the building of socialism. At the same time, V. I. Lenin emphasized the necessity for a non-capitalist path of development for backward peoples in order to eliminate social conflicts produced by foreign imperialist oppression and by the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and to avoid the painful stage of capitalism.

Thus, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the transition of backward peoples and countries to socialism, bypassing capitalism, becomes possible in connection with the victory of the socialist revolution in an individual country or in several advanced countries and is necessary if

the existing social conflicts are to be eliminated. Consequently, the Leninist teaching of the possibility and the necessity of a non-capitalist path of development for backward countries and peoples is an integral part of his theory of socialist revolution.

V. I. Lenin's conclusion that after the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia, under the conditions of a general crisis of capitalism, backward countries may and must make the transition through certain definite stages of development from pre-capitalist forms of production to Communism -- this conclusion by V. I. Lenin mobilized these backward people for a decisive fight for socialism and a struggle against their foreign and internal enslavers. The basic principles of the transition to socialism by peoples who live under conditions of pre-capitalist and underdeveloped capitalist relationships were subsequently formulated in the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the RKP(b), entitled "Concerning the Nationalities Question" (April 1923).

Footnote: See KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK (The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Central Committee Plenums), Part I, seventh edition, Gospolitizdat, 1953. These basic principles have been confirmed in practice through the non-capitalist development of the formerly backward peoples of the USSR, the national minorities of the People's Republic of China, the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic, and the experience of Albania and North Vietnam, which have bypassed the development of capitalism.

The non-capitalist path of development has already become an established fact. Experience, the judge of all theories of social development, has shown the groundlessness of reformist theories alleging the capitalist stage of development to be inevitable for any people and has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the possibility of a transition to socialism, bypassing capitalism by backward countries and peoples under certain definite historical conditions.

Now, practice has fully indicated the laws and characteristics of a transition to socialism by socially and economically backward peoples. Let us now examine these laws and characteristics.

Laws and Characteristics of a Transition to Socialism by Backward Peoples Within a Country of Proletarian Dictatorship

The world capitalist system of economy, based on private ownership of the means of production and on the domination of the weak by the strong, dooms backward peoples to social and national-colonial oppression.

The action of the law of unequal economic and political development of individual countries under imperialism which is particularly expressed

in the fact that social conflicts in backward countries become more acute, makes it necessary for backward countries and peoples to effect a transition to socialism by bypassing capitalism. The backward peoples and countries must do this with the aid of socialist countries. Under the socialist system of economy on the other hand, a system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the mutual assistance of peoples, has no place for national and class oppression and has no economic inequality of peoples.

The laws and characteristics of the transition to socialism of backward peoples, like the general laws and characteristics of the transition from capitalism to socialism, pertain, first, to the means of winning power, second, to the essence and forms of power, and third, to the means and methods of revolution on the economic, technical, political, cultural, and ideological fronts. In this article, which is political and economic in nature, we propose to give precedence to an examination of the laws and characteristics of the revolutionary transformations in the economies of backward peoples which have taken the non-capitalist path.

It should be noted that the transition of backward peoples to socialism has many features in common with the transition from capitalism to socialism. In backward countries which are bypassing capitalism in their advance to socialism, the general laws of transition to socialism take the form of specific laws of the non-capitalist path of development. At the same time, among various backward peoples, there are special characteristics of this transition to socialism with the bypassing of capitalism.

The most general law of this transition, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, is the fact that political aid, economic aid, production aid, cultural aid, and any other kind of aid is given by countries (or a single country) in which the socialist revolution has been victorious to backward countries and peoples. The need for this aid arises because backward countries have insufficient material and political prerequisites for socialism and thus cannot make the transition to socialism completely independently. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that a socialist revolution in any advanced country cannot be victorious if the proletariat of that country lacks the sympathy and active support of other peoples, including backward peoples. For any people, this mutual aid is a necessary condition for the transition to socialism.

The specific laws and characteristics of the non-capitalist path of development among various peoples are determined by two basic factors: (1) the level of social-economic development attained by this or that backward people which is beginning its transition to socialism; (2) whether the people in question are effecting this development as part of a country with proletarian dictatorship or as a separate, sovereign, independent country.

At present, there is historical experience to shed light on both the above factors.

The experience of non-capitalist development within a country of proletarian dictatorship (upon whose characteristic basic features we will dwell presently) has already been divided into two possible forms: (1) the form of transition from feudalism to socialism, and (2) the form of transition from pre-feudal relationships to socialism.

Within the Soviet Union, the peoples who have made the transition from feudalism to socialism bypassing capitalism are the peoples of the East and Siberia: Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Tadzhiks, Turkmen, Azerbaydzhanis, Dagestanis, Gortsy, Buryats, and Yakuts, all of whom numbered about 25 million at the beginning of the transition. In the People's Republic of China, the Inner Mongols, the Uighurs, and several other national minorities have made the transition from feudalism to socialism, and the Tibetans are now proceeding in that direction. The basic occupation of these formerly backward peoples of Russia and China was agriculture, primarily the tending of herds, plus the domestic production of articles for their own consumption. Artisan and handicraft production was the only kind of industry they had. Feudalism was dominant among these peoples, but the economy of the feudal leaders had begun to take on the aspects of trade and capitalism. The real industrial proletariat and the real industrial bourgeoisie were very small in numbers. The peasantry was at the first stage of the capitalist stratification of the village. Among the livestock-herding peoples, feudal land rent took the form of various paid tributes, while among the soil-tilling peoples, sharecropping was the predominant method of extracting land rent. The economy of these peoples consisted of supplying cheap raw material and foodstuffs to the industrial regions and serving as a market for the sale of industrial goods and also as a source for the forceful extraction of state revenues. The working people were strongly dissatisfied with the existing order and continually made spontaneous uprisings against it.

In the Soviet Union, the transition from pre-feudal relationships to socialism has been made by 26 ethnically distinct peoples of the North: the Khanty, the Mansi, the Nentsy, the Entsy, the Evenki, the Eveny, the Nanai, the Chukchi, the Koryaki, the Eskimosy, and others, totaling around 150,000 to 160,000. [Ethnic names transliterated from Russian.] Within the People's Republic of China, the transition from pre-feudal relationships to socialism is being made by certain national minorities: the Miao, the Lolo, and others, several millions in all. The basic occupation among the settled (i.e., non-nomadic) small peoples of the North was fishing; the nomads raised reindeer. These and other peoples also engaged in hunting. Trade had only just begun to develop from cottage industry. The economy was definitely a natural economy. It began to decay primarily under the influence of foreign trade routes.

The market became subordinated to the fur trade. Trade transactions were made in the form of direct exchange. Even the yasak or tax was paid in kind. There was no private ownership of the land with rare exceptions. Pasturage was allotted to individual families in proportion to the size of the herds which they owned, but the industrial property remained under common ownership. Communal ownership also extended to the durable tools and weapons used for hunting and fishing. There was private ownership of reindeer, sled dogs, houses, and domestic property. The growth of property inequality led to the development of a mixed form of domestic slavery containing elements of serfdom and capitalism. The harsh exploitation of the small peoples of the North was effected through one-sided trade and the exacting of taxes by the agencies of authority. These peoples had no true bourgeoisie and no true working class. During the civil war and the foreign intervention, the looting and beastiality committed by the White Guards and the Japanese and American invaders aroused the more advanced representatives of the small peoples of the North to take part in the class struggle on the Soviet side, but the vast majority of the population remained deaf and blind to the revolutionary events which were transpiring, being under the influence of wealthy men, elders, and shamans. The national minorities of China which had pre-feudal relationships engaged in livestock raising, hunting, and agriculture. On the basis of private ownership of land and other means of production, they had a greater degree of domestic and family slavery than the small peoples of Northern Russia, and they also had elements of serfdom and capitalism. A considerable part of the land belonged to temples and monasteries.

The war in China did not pass these peoples by. The best representatives of the most backward national minorities of China supported the People's Liberation Army of China in the struggle against militaristic Japan and against the Kuomintang, a fact which aided the policy of the Communist Party with respect to the national minorities of the country. On the basis of the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mao Tse-tung, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, said "Communists must aid the broad masses of the national minorities, including those of their leaders who have close ties with the masses, in their struggle for political, economic, and cultural liberation and development and for the creation of troop units of the national minorities which could stand guard over the interests of the masses. The language, the system of writing, the habits and customs, and the religious beliefs of the national minorities must be respected." [Footnote: Mao Tse-tung, Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya (Selected Works), Vol. IV, IL, 1953, pp 550-551.] This nationalities policy of the Communist Party of China was put into practice and is being effected.

What, however, was the political and economic foundation for the transition of the backward peoples of Russia and China from the pre-capitalist forms of economy to socialism?

The political basis of the transition of the backward peoples of Russia and China to socialism was the establishment among them of a regime of proletarian dictatorship on the basis of the overall victory of the working class in the country. As a result of the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the victory of the revolution in China in 1949, political equality was established among all the peoples of Russia and China. Their right to free self-determination was acknowledged; all national privileges and limitations were abolished; and oppression or any other action directed against the unity of nationalities was prohibited. Backward peoples had the opportunity to develop and strengthen their regimes of proletarian dictatorships, regimes which were established through various methods depending on the degree of social-economic development of the people concerned. The establishment of a regime of proletarian dictatorship among peoples still in the stage of feudalism took place with the support of the revolutionary movement in the midst of the peoples themselves, created by the working class of the advanced nations. The development of proletarian statehood among peoples still in the stage of disintegrating clan and tribal relationships was effected through the active support of the central proletarian power by advanced representatives of small nationalities. The reason for this is that the working people of a feudal class society, recognizing the need to destroy foreign national bourgeois oppression and the yoke of the domestic feudal lords and other exploiters, take action themselves and effect a revolution with their own forces, relying on the aid of the proletarian power of the center. On the other hand, peoples who are still in the stage of being transformed into a class society do not yet have a developed class consciousness, and proletarian statehood is therefore established among them on the initiative of the central power but with their support. In the latter case, the central proletarian power undertakes a national state development for small peoples in their interests and with their own forces, relying on progressive elements within them.

As practice has shown among backward peoples making the transition to socialism within countries of proletarian dictatorship, democratic transformations occur first in the political field and then in the economic field and are effected forcibly if their old local authorities oppose it; these transformations are effected through peaceful agreement and consultation with their representatives, if they are reasonable enough to yield to the new authorities without opposition.

It has been necessary to create Marxist-Leninist party organizations among backward peoples to serve as the directing force of the working people and the leaders for state and social institutions. Among peoples proceeding from feudalism to socialism, these party organizations were formed before the working people took power. This was the case, for example, among the peoples of Central Asia and among the Mongols in China. /Footnote: See S. D. Dylykov, Demokraticheskoye Drizheniye

Mongol'skogo Naroda v Kitaye (Democratic Movement of the Mongolian People in China), Moscow, 1953.] Among the small nationalities of the North in the USSR and in the People's Republic of China who were at the stage of pre-feudal relationships, Marxist-Leninist party organizations were formed during the transition period. Thus, we see that for a transition to socialism within a multinational country, backward peoples, with the aid of the working class of advanced nations, develop revolutionary independence and activity, form party organizations of the Marxist-Leninist type from their advanced representatives, and establish national statehood in the course of the revolutionary movement. National relationships develop in the country on the basis of the principle of collaboration among all peoples. State power serves as the instrument for the transformation of society.

The economic basis of the transition to socialism by backward peoples within the framework of a country with proletarian dictatorship is, first, the appearance of a socialist structure or foundation in the country, and, second, the consolidation of the socialist mode of production in the central regions of the country. Based on the socialist economy, the working class of the advanced nations began to give all possible assistance toward the democratic and socialist development of backward peoples.

In the transition of backward peoples from pre-capitalist forms of economy to socialism within a socialist state, the merging and intermingling of democratic and socialist transformations in the field of economy comprise a developmental law. This is dictated by the task involved in the swiftest possible elimination of the social-economic inequality of peoples in the country. It finds its expression in the fact that, together with democratic reforms which destroy the remnants of tribal-patriarchal, slave-owning, and feudal relationships, a socialist aspect is given to the economy, and the economic laws on socialism make their appearance.

Examples of democratic reforms in the field of economy are the land and irrigation reforms among the peoples of Central Asia in 1925-1927, the livestock ownership reform in Kazakhstan, etc. During the land and irrigation reforms, the land and irrigation equipment was taken from the landowners and handed over to the landless and semi-landless peasants. Here, the economy of the landowners and wealthy merchants was eliminated, and the possibility of exploitation of the peasants by kulaks was limited by means of confiscation from the latter of all land above an established norm. The livestock ownership reform in Kazakhstan meant the confiscation of livestock from the feudal lords and the transfer of this livestock to the ownership of the poor peasants; consequently, it meant the elimination of feudal relationships. Among the small nationalities of the North, democratic measures were also taken: debts owed to the wealthy were voided; the wealthy were given

the poorer fields during the distribution of land, and some of them were deprived of the right to use the land; the mandatory deliveries of reindeer, furs, and fish were imposed on the wealthy.

During the democratic agrarian reforms in China, land, livestock, buildings, and other property were confiscated from the feudal lords and slave-owners and made the property of the peasants. In the national minority areas where democratic transformations were effected through peaceful agreement and consultation with representatives of their upper strata, the latter were allowed to keep shares of land equal to those given to the peasants. They also kept farm tools, livestock, buildings, and other property. In the national minority areas of China, the land and property of temples and monasteries was left inviolable.

During the elimination of pre-capitalist forms of economy among backward peoples, small-goods production develops; on the basis of the private initiative of petty goods producers, productive forces in agriculture and crafts develop, commodity exchange with industrial centers develops, and the union of the working class of advanced nations with the peasants and craftsmen of backward peoples strengthens as a result of their improved material situation. At the same time, the democratic transformations which create conditions for the development of small commodity production and the growth of productive forces are accompanied by a growth of capitalist elements among the backward peoples, but a growth confined within certain limits.

Along with the democratic transformations which cleanse the economy of backward peoples of pre-capitalist production relations, socialist measures are also undertaken. Because industry in those territories was almost absent and because there was almost nothing to nationalize, and since the building of socialism has political as well as material prerequisites, rudimentary industrial centers were created on the territories of the backward peoples in order to form a true working class of sufficient strength to serve as a political force in the building of socialism and to enable the peasants and other strata of the working people to rally around them. The creation of industrial centers is also the first step in the socialist industrialization of national areas. These socialist undertakings which are effected parallel with the democratic transformations include the following: the creation and development of various types of cooperatives (consumer cooperatives, supply and sales cooperatives, credit associations, and craft artels), and the organization of state agricultural enterprises and state trade.

The creation of industrial centers is effected through two methods. The first is the physical transfer of factories and plants from the industrial areas of the country to the territory of the backward peoples near their sources of raw materials. The plants and factories are transferred complete with equipment and skilled cadres from the workers

of advanced nations; these workers act as teachers to the workers of the local nationality. Thus, for example, in 1922-1924, one cotton factory and two wool factories were transferred from the central regions of the Soviet Union to Central Asia and Kazakhstan; a textile factory was sent to Azerbaydzhan, and a canning plant was sent to Dagestan. [Footnote: See G. M. Alampyev, "The Rise of the Economy of the National Republics of the Soviet Union," in Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Ekonomika, 1917-1957 (Soviet Socialist Economy 1917-1957), Gospolitizdat, 1957, p 530.] The second method is the creation of new industrial enterprises with maximum use of manpower from the local population. In this way, any kind of industry for which the economic and natural conditions are suitable can be developed in the national areas. On this basis, plant and mining centers were created as the primary industrial implants in Kazakhstan and Turkmenia. In the Far North, industrial centers were begun first on the basis of forestry, fishing, hunting, and mineral extraction, and then, shipbuilding, fuel and power, chemistry, etc. were developed. The People's Republic of China built coal mines and other enterprises in Tibet. Among many national minorities of the Soviet Union, centers for processing the products of agriculture were created; such centers are now being created among the national minorities of China. Territories populated by backward peoples usually did not have modern means of transport; for this reason, the construction of railroad, highway, and water transportation systems, and the construction of pipelines occupied an important place in the industrial construction systems of these peoples.

The so-called cultural base is an organizational form for restructuring the life of small minor nationalities of the northern part of the Soviet Union which deserves attention. Those cultural bases included the following: model shops for carpentry and metal-fitting, fishnet-weaving shops, bakeries, veterinary service points, experimental agronomical and animal husbandry points, a scientific research unit for local lore, a boarding-school, a children's home, a hospital with an out-patient clinic and nurseries, a club, a radio and cinema installation, a bath-house, and a special house where travellers were given a place to sleep, hot food, etc. These cultural bases were the centers of economic and cultural life among the northern peoples of the Soviet Union.

[Footnote: See M. A. Sergeyev, Nekapitalisticheskiy Put' Razvitiya Malykh Narodov Severa (The Non-Capitalist Path of Development of the Minor Peoples of the North), Publishing House of Academy of Sciences USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1955, p 263.]

The creation of industrial centers on the territories of the backward peoples of the USSR and the People's Republic of China ensured the development among them of a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, i.e., it led to the strengthening of the position of leadership of the national working class which was being formed and its party organizations and to a dissemination of socialist ideology, among

the backward peoples. At the same time, the unfolding of the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts was a necessary prerequisite for the victory of the socialist revolution in the economic field.

After the democratic transformations among the backward peoples, transformations which eliminated the pre-capitalist forms of economy, and after the creation of the socialist base which took the form of state industrial, transport, agricultural, and trade enterprises, and consumer, supply and sales, credit, and craft cooperatives, as well as the first agricultural producers' cooperatives -- after these were formed, there were three basic features in the economies of these peoples: socialist, petty commodity, and capitalist. The basic classes became the working class and the class of simple commodity producers, ie., the peasants. In addition to these, there were bourgeois elements, primarily kulaks, and capitalist traders. The presence of these three modes of economy and the three classes which pertain to them conditions the building of socialism among backward peoples according to the general laws of transition from capitalism to socialism, ie., the socialist transformation of agriculture in accomplished by putting into practice the basic features of Lenin's cooperative plan. In the practice of socialist reorganization of agriculture among backward peoples, however, there are many features unique and specific to them. We shall note their main characteristics.

1. On the basis of a mass program of peasant producers' cooperatives, not only are capitalist elements liquidated, but feudal and other pre-capitalist remnants are also eliminated.

2. Putting petty peasant production on a collective economy footing takes a longer time among backward peoples. For example, the creation of peasant producers' cooperatives in Tadzhikistan which was making the transition to socialism from feudalism was completed not in 1932-1934, as in the central regions of the Soviet Union, but in 1936-1937. The process of collectivization among the minor nationalities of the North was basically completed only during the Great Fatherland War.

3. Among backward peoples, the cooperative forms which were long predominant in the village were very simple units. In Tadzhikistan, for example, associations for joint working of the land (called Tozy) were given the status of agricultural artels in 1937-1939. The minor peoples of the North completed the transfer to the artel form of collective economy after the Great Fatherland War.

4. Among backward peoples who are nomadic, the socialist transformation of agriculture is accompanied by a transition to the settlement style of life; new villages are formed, which adds to the growth of the

material base of socialist agricultural production. National minorities which live in the mountains often resettle in fertile valleys.

5. Inasmuch as large-scale collective economy creates opportunities for better use of land, new equipment, science, and manpower, the kolkhozes of formerly backward peoples change the economy into a more complex one, creating new branches of agricultural production which did not exist previously in those localities. Thus, for example, the minor peoples of the North (USSR) began to engage in crop cultivation.

6. The collectivization of the populace, as a rule, is accomplished under conditions where central industrial regions exercise sponsorship over the regions of the formerly backward peoples. The workers of Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk were sponsors for the regions of Central Asia, and the workers of Leningrad exercised sponsorship over Kazakhstan. Brigades of workers from the sponsoring areas helped the local party organizations to improve political indoctrinational work among the peasants, to strengthen the local organs of power, and to purge them of kulak elements; the brigades repaired farm machinery and trained cadres of mechanizers from the local population.

7. Among backward peoples, the socialist transformation of the economy occurs simultaneously with the development of a regular socialist industry and socialist industrialization. The technical reconstruction of the economy of backward peoples, as a rule, is possible only under a cooperative system, when it becomes possible to use complicated tools of production in a large collective enterprise and when cadres from the local population have been trained to use these tools. Thus, among the minor peoples of the North, the various state-owned technical stations: the motorized fishing station (MRS), the motorized commodity transportation centers (MPTS), the motorized trading centers (MPS), the hunting and trading stations (POS), and machine-tractor stations (MTS), were created under conditions where almost the entire population of these minor nationalities were organized into very simple forms of producers cooperatives. In the People's Republic of China, where the cooperativization of the peasants was conducted with a relatively low-level agricultural mechanization, i.e., practically on the old technical base, collectivization among backward national minorities was effected without immediate mechanization.

8. Among peoples who have reached the stage of deteriorating tribal-patriarchal relations, cooperativization usually makes use of the communal living groups or living "artels," but these are subsequently transformed into true socialist enterprises by removing the exploiter elements from them, by eliminating the share ownership of the means of production, and by communalizing this ownership, and by effecting a transition from the share system of dividing the produce to the system

of distribution according to labor-days, with part of the produce set aside for the indivisible fund. The need to make use of the communal living organizations in this manner when effecting a non-capitalist mode of development was emphasized by Marx and Engels in connection with their study of the Russian commune (obshchina). The democratic and socialist transformations in the economies of backward peoples, the socialist industrialization of their whole economy, and the growth of production as a whole have led to a considerable elevation of the material and cultural standard of living of formerly backward peoples. With the building of socialism among formerly backward peoples, their social-economic inequality is eliminated and their economic and cultural backwardness is overcome. "As a result of the consistent implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy in the USSR," said N. S. Khrushchev, "the friendship of peoples has been strengthened, and the task of eliminating the economic and cultural inequality of peoples has been accomplished for the first time in history. In all the union republics, a powerful modern industry has been created, national cadres of the intelligentsia and working class have arisen, and a culture which is nationalist in form, socialist in content has been developed in all its aspects." Footnote: N. S. Khrushchev, Sorok Let Velikov Oktvabr'skov Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii. Doklad na Yubilevnoy Sessii Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR 6 Novabrva 1957 g. (Forty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Report to the Jubilee Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR, 6 November 1957), "Pravda" Publishing House, 1957, pp 18-19.7

Let us take Kazakhstan and Kirgizia as examples. The Kazakh SSR is now not only one of the grain bases of the Soviet Union, but also a highly developed modern industry. Its industry now produces in three days as much as it produced for all of 1913. The following data shows the successes of the formerly backward peoples of the Soviet Union in the fields of education and public health, as compared with neighboring peoples now living under imperialist oppression. In 1957, per every 10,000 persons in the Uzbek SSR, there were 103 students and 12 doctors; in the Turkmen SSR, there were 99 students and 18 doctors; while in Pakistan, there were 8 students and 0.7 doctors, and in Iran, there were 4 students and one doctor. The Control Figures for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1959-1965 provide for a further economic and cultural upsurge in all republics. The national minorities of the People's Republic of China are overcoming their age-old economic and cultural backwardness on the basis of the socialist system.

Thus, the building of socialism assures formerly backward peoples of an opportunity to stride far ahead in the economic, cultural, and political sense in comparison with those peoples who remain under the yoke of foreign imperialism.

Laws and Characteristics of the Transition from Feudalism to Socialism by Individual Sovereign and Independent Countries

The following countries are embarked on the non-capitalist path of development as sovereign, independent countries: the Mongolian People's Republic (since 1921), the People's Republic of Albania (since 1944), and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (since 1945); the Tuvinskaya People's Republic followed this path from 1921 until its voluntary union with the USSR in 1944; the Bukharskaya People's Soviet Republic began their non-capitalist development in 1920 as independent countries, but joined with the USSR in 1924. Let us examine the laws and characteristics of non-capitalist development in the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic, which bypassed capitalism completely, and in the examples of the People's Republic of Albania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which bypassed fully developed capitalism. The pre-revolutionary economy of these countries had common features, as well as peculiarities. They were all colonial agrarian countries. The basic occupation of the population of Mongolia was extensive nomadic livestock raising. That of the populations of Albania and Northern Vietnam was farming. The basic economy of all these countries was agriculture in the general sense; feudal relationships predominated in this agriculture, and there were still remnants of a tribal patriarchal way of life. It should be noted that, along with the secular feudal lords in these countries, there were also feudal clergy. The peasantry was at the first stage of capitalist stratification in its villages. The existing industrial enterprises belonged to foreign imperialist capital. Industry was represented by small institutions of the handicrafts type. A national bourgeoisie was either absent altogether, as in Mongolia, or was very weak, as in Albania and North Vietnam. Similarly, there was either no working class at all, as in Mongolia, or it was very small in numbers, as in Albania and North Vietnam. One common feature of all these countries is the fact that, before the revolution, they were occupied by imperialist forces who were served by the local feudal lords.

The foundation of the transition to socialism in these countries was laid by a popular democratic revolution which was supported by the Soviet Union and the entire world-wide national-liberation movement. The popular democratic revolution has two stages: the democratic stage, during which the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution are solved and the conditions for non-capitalist development are prepared, and the socialist stage, which solves the tasks of socialist construction. This law is conditioned by the fact that, before the transition to socialism, the chief contradictions in backward countries are the contradictions between the whole people of a backward country on the one hand, and the imperialist aggressors on the other hand, and also the contradictions between the peasants and the feudal land-owners. The need to eliminate these contradictions is what calls forth the democratic,

anti-imperialist, and anti-feudal stage of the national democratic revolution. In the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, this stage lasted from 1921 to 1940; in the People's Republic of Albania, it lasted from 1944 to 1946; in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it lasted from 1945 to 1956. The tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution are solved simultaneously because the vast majority of the feudal landowners have close ties with the foreign imperialists and fight on the side of the latter in the ensuing struggle; only individual landowners and some of the intelligentsia who have left the class of landowners are able to rise to a certain level of national awareness, and these persons participate in the revolutionary movement.

The motive force during the first stage of the popular democratic revolution is the people, including workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, elements of the national bourgeoisie, and patriotically and progressively oriented landowners and representatives of the intelligentsia. Hence, the necessity for the creation of a national popular patriotic front in the country which may have an official form, as was the case in the People's Republic of Albania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, or it may have its practical existence without any official form, as was the case in Mongolia. "Revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries," Ho chi-Minh wrote, "is a national-democratic revolution. To bring this revolution to victory, it is possible and necessary to create a very broad national front uniting all the social strata and classes interested in a liberation from the colonial yoke." [Footnote: Ho Chi-minh, "The October Revolution and the Liberation of the Peoples of the East," in the collection entitled Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Mirovoye Osvoboditel'noye Dvizheniye (The Great October Revolution and the World Liberation Movement), Vol I, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1958, p 244.] Here, the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has shown that the absence or numerical smallness of a national working class cannot act as an obstacle to the beginning of the transition of backward countries from feudalism to socialism during the conditions of a general crisis of capitalism, because the popular democratic revolution is supported by the aid and experience of the working class of the socialist states. However, the transformation of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal evolution into a socialist revolution takes (other conditions being equal) more readily in the backward countries in which a working class already exists as the basic political force in the cause of the building of socialism.

The leadership of the revolution by a Marxist-Leninist party, created before the victory of the popular democratic revolution, the creation of a regular revolutionary army (also prior to the victory of the revolution), and the creation of agencies of peoples' power before the country is completely liberated from its occupiers -- these things are objective necessities for a backward country's transition to socialism.

In the transitional period, between feudalism and socialism, the people's democratic state, as a tool for the transformation of society is, with regard to its class essence during the democratic stage, a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. In other words, it is the transitional power prior to the socialist dictatorship of the working class. At the socialist stage, it is simply the dictatorship of the working class. All this issues from the fact that people's democratic power, as an element of super-structure, functions during the first stage of the revolution on a petty-commodity economic base. At the second stage of the revolution, it relies on the socialist foundation which has already been created in the country. Another characteristic of the transition from feudalism to socialism is the intermingling of the democratic stage and the socialist stage. While feudal relationships are gradually being destroyed for example, a number of primary measures pertaining to the socialist revolution are being effected, specifically the nationalization of mineral resources, forests, waterways, finance, etc. (in Mongolia, the land was also nationalized at this time). State enterprises and cooperatives are created. "A characteristic of our country," said Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party, "is the transition from a bourgeois democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. The first stage of the revolution merged with the second." /Footnote: Enver Hoxha, "The Influence of the Great October Revolution on Albania," in Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Mirovaya Osvooboditel'noye Dvizheniya, Vol I, Gospolitizdat, 1958, p 100./ This is also true for other backward countries.

What is the economy of the transitional period from feudalism to socialism, and what are the modes of its development? It is characterized by the presence of elements of the following economic systems: the patriarchal (this is absent in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam), the feudal, the petty commodity, the private capitalist, the socialist (state and cooperative), and, as is the case in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the state capitalist system.

The patriarchal system was represented in the economies of the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Albania by the natural economy of the peasants; their production was not connected with the market or was very weakly connected with it.

The presence of elements of the feudal system made necessary a certain length of time, determined by the precise historical conditions of the country, for the elimination of the forms of the feudal lords. This took a short time in Albania, where the agrarian reform was conducted at one stroke through the confiscation of land and tools from the feudal lords; it took a longer time in the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the Mongolian People's Republic, in

spite of the nationalization of the land, the farms of the feudal lords, based on their ownership of livestock, remained for a long time, since there was a system of land use based on the customary right of prior seizure. The confiscation of the cattle from the feudal lords was conducted primarily in two ways. At first, the confiscation was applied principally to the secular feudal lords and later, to the religious feudal nobility who had become the stronghold of counterrevolution in the country. Only the confiscation of livestock from the feudal lords, accompanied by the transfer of this livestock to the ownership of the poor and poverty-stricken "arats," or peasants, to the ownership of the cooperative organizations, and directly to the state, made possible the elimination of the feudal nobility as a class in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1939.

Before the elimination of feudal farms in the Mongolian People's Republic and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, measures were undertaken to limit feudal exploitation. In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, this was done by lowering rents and reducing usurious percentage rates. The elimination of feudal property in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was accomplished primarily by purchase with a payment period of up to 10 years. In accordance with Article 14 of the Geneva Agreement on the Restoration of Peace in Indochina (1954) which forbade the persecution and punishment of landowners who collaborated with the enemy during the war or engaged in subversive activities, the land and other property of these persons could not be confiscated, but had to be bought. Agrarian reforms in backward countries encountered strong resistance from the feudal reactionaries; landowners often killed their peasants and ruined their property; peasant fields were burned in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, etc.

The petty-commodity system, consisting of the economic activities of simple commodity producers such as peasants and craftsmen, was predominant for a long time in the economy of every such country. As a result of agrarian reforms which transferred land and other property to the poor peasants, as was the case in the People's Republic of Albania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, or which transferred the livestock of the feudal nobility to the poor peasants, as was the case in the Mongolian People's Republic, a leveling of drastic differences among the peasants occurred (making most of them "serednyaks," or middle peasants), and increasing the ratio of commodity output to total output in the peasant economy.

The private capitalist element exists primarily in agriculture and trade; in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it is also present in light industry and in the food industry. Foreign capital has been excluded from the country.

The socialist element, which arose as the result of the nationalization of the industrial and transport enterprises of war criminals [*voennyye prestupniki*] and foreign capital (in this respect there was almost nothing to nationalize in Mongolia) and also on the basis of liquidation of feudal property, grows through the creation of new state enterprises in industry, transport, trade, and agriculture and through the organization of cooperatives of all types. Among the socialist-sector enterprises of these countries, the most important are the combined enterprises, i. e., Mongolian-Soviet, Albanian-Soviet, Vietnam-Chinese, etc., the organization of which is one of the forms of aid by socialist states in the building of socialist economies in backward countries.

The element of state capitalism is found only in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is found in three forms. In the first form, private capitalist enterprises are excluded from a natural market through the purchase of all their production by the state, which resells it through the state trade network. In the second form, private capitalist enterprises are excluded from a natural market by supplying them with raw materials by the state, which also receives their finished products. In the third form, there are combined state and capitalist enterprises which function on a share system and have joint administration. It is through state capitalism that capitalist enterprises are transformed to socialist ones.

Toward the end of the democratic stage, the basic economic elements which remain in countries proceeding from feudalism to socialism are three: the socialist, the petty-commodity, and the private capitalist elements. The Mongolian People's Republic is an exception; there, the private capitalist element is not a fundamental one, since the bourgeoisie does not exist as a class in that country.

At this point, the basic classes in these countries are also three: the working class, the labor peasantry, and the bourgeoisie (except in the Mongolian People's Republic). The chief contradictions existing at this time are the contradiction between the socialist system and elements of the capitalist system, and the contradiction between the socialist system and the petty-commodity system, the latter being a hindrance to further economic development. These contradictions are resolved through the socialist transformation of private industry, trade, agriculture, and handicraft production. Comparison of the economy of a transitional period from feudalism to socialism and the economy of a transitional period from capitalism to socialism shows that the former contains elements of more economic systems and is more complex than the latter, because the latter lacks or almost lacks elements of the feudal and patriarchal systems. Hence, the longer periods of transition to socialism in countries which are making that transition from feudalism.

The non-capitalist development of individual backward countries is complex, but not spontaneous; it is a process which follows a definite plan. In this process, an important place is occupied by the elimination of feudal relationships and the preparation of internal material and political prerequisites for the building of socialism. The first stage of a peoples democratic revolution, which frees the productive forces of a backward country from the chains of colonialism and feudalism, is in itself this preparation of internal material and political prerequisites for the full-scale construction of socialism.

Among the material and political prerequisites for socialism which are created in backward countries in their transition from feudalism to socialism, the primary ones are these: the development of productive forces and formation of a true, numerically large working class through the creation of large-scale indigenous socialist industry. The Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are first developing their light and food industries, which require small capital investments and produce more quickly a beneficial effect for the people. This policy is being effected through the building of state enterprises. These countries are also creating the most necessary and useful branches of transport and heavy industry, i.e., electric power, construction materials, extraction of rare metals, etc. This type of industrial development is possible in conditions where the industrialization of these countries is insured through delivery of equipment and all possible types of technical aid from the more highly developed countries of the socialist camp. As a result of the industrial construction in the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the relative weight of industry in the economies of these countries is uninterruptedly increasing. Thus, for example, the relative share of industrial production in the gross output of industry and agriculture combined has increased in the Mongolian People's Republic since the revolution from almost zero to fifty percent in 1955. In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it has increased from 18 percent in 1939 to 29 percent in 1957, in the People's Republic of Albania from 9.8 percent in 1938 to 48.9 percent in 1957. These have become industrial-agrarian countries. During the course of industrial construction in these countries, large industrial centers are being created, the working class of which is slated to play the role of the fundamental political force in the building of socialism. One of the developmental laws for countries proceeding from feudalism to socialism is the growth of the working class, not through the mass ruin of the peasantry, as is characteristic of capitalist countries, but through the liberation of the manpower of the peasant economy by the introduction of new technology and culture. In the Mongolian People's Republic, as Kh. Choybalsan noted, the working class is created "through the liberation of workers from the peasant economy, not through the ruin of that economy, but through its improvement." [Footnote: Kh. Choybalsan,

"Report on the Draft Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic at the Eighth Great Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic," Sovremennaya Mongoliya (Modern Mongolia), 1940, No 3, p 4.7

The unflagging enlargement and strengthening of the socialist sector on the basis of the development of indigenous industry in countries which are developing along the non-capitalist path and the intensification of the influence on the development of the economy as a whole leads not only to an intensification of the action of the basic economic law of socialism, but also to the elevation of the rôle of the objective economic law of planned proportional development of national economy. In the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it became possible at the end of the democratic stage to draw up plans for the development of the national economy. In the Mongolian People's Republic, for example, the development of yearly economic plans was begun in 1941, and the drawing up of five-year plans and three-year plans was begun in 1947, and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it began in 1956.

The development of education, public health, culture, and science in proceeding at rates which correspond to the rates of development of socialist economies in the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Republic of Albania.

The socialist transformation of agriculture in countries which are proceeding from feudalism to socialism has many features in common with the cooperativization of the peasantry in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The reason for this is that in the economies of backward countries, as a result of the conclusion of the democratic stage of the peoples democratic revolution, the basic elements representing various economic systems are the same ones which appear in the transitional period between capitalism and socialism. We will not dwell on the question of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. We will merely point out that the percentage of cooperative farms in the total number of peasant farms was 62.8 percent in the People's Republic of Albania, according to data for 1 November 1958; in the Mongolian People's Republic, it was about 42 percent as of 1 May 1958; and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the percentage to date is insignificant. In the Mongolian People's Republic, on the basis of collectivization, the development of a soil-tilling way of life is being achieved as the foundation for a settled non-nomadic economy.

Through a comparison of the rates of collectivization of agriculture in various separate sovereign and independent countries with the rates in the republics of the Soviet Union and in autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China which are proceeding from feudalism to

socialism, one may conclude that the transition from feudalism to socialism among peoples within a single multinational socialist state is accomplished more swiftly than is the case when a people embarks on this path of development within a single sovereign independent country. Thus, for example, in 1921, Outer Mongolia, Tuva, and Kirgizia had approximately the same level of social-economic development and had comparable economies. They began the transition to socialism, by-passing capitalism, at exactly the same time. In Kirgizia, socialism became the dominant mode of production soon after the country became part of the Soviet Union.

The autonomous Inner Mongolia, as part of the People's Republic of China, began its transition from feudalism to socialism much later than Outer Mongolia, but has already completed its socialist transformations in the field of economy. But in the Mongolian People's Republic, as pointed out above, only 42 percent of the peasant farms were collectivized in mid-1958. It is unquestionable that the rates of agricultural collectivization in the Mongolian People's Republic have been greatly affected by the tense situation which arose as a result of the aggressive strivings of Japan, when the Mongolian People's Republic was forced to divert much money and manpower to strengthen the country's defenses. This seriously hindered the building of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. But this does not alter the fact that if aid from the victorious working class of an advanced nation is a necessary condition for the transition of a backward country from feudalism to socialism, that aid, given within the framework of a single multinational socialist state is more effective and speeds up the rate of the transition from feudalism to socialism. From the analysis from the economic side of the question however, we must not conclude that it is necessary for the Mongolian People's Republic to become part of the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China, because, in the complex international situation, political factors play a far from minor role. An examination of these political factors is not part of our tasks in this article. Moreover, with the strengthening of the camp of socialism, the scope of the aid given to countries proceeding from feudalism to socialism by the more highly developed socialist states is expanding significantly. Under these conditions, even the economy of the Mongolian People's Republic has greater long-range prospects than would otherwise be the case. The Soviet Government has already decided to give the Mongolian people greater aid in 1959-1960: first, through supplementary deliveries of tractors, combines, and other equipment; second, together with the material, technical, and financial aid in the construction of 18 industrial, agricultural, and public service projects which have already been begun, additional aid in the construction of two enterprises for producing standard houses, a silicate brick plant, an expansion of the Ulan Bator heat and electric power center, and the reconstruction of two wool-washing plants (sherstomoyechnyye fabriki);

third, aid in conducting geological prospecting work for metallic and non-metallic minerals; fourth, credit in the sum of up to 200 million rubles on favorable terms; and fifth, the defrayment by the Soviet Union of 50 percent of the expenditures for public health enterprises undertaken by the government of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1958-1960.

Other countries of the socialist camp have also begun to render fraternal aid to the Mongolian People's Republic in the building of socialism. With its own money and manpower, the People's Republic of China is building a brick plant, a wood-processing plant, a paper mill, a wool fabric factory, a glass container plant, a sports stadium, housing, and other projects for the Mongolian People's Republic. The Czechoslovakian Republic is helping the Mongolian people to expand and reconstruct a tanning factory, a footwear factory, etc. The German Democratic Republic is giving them aid in expanding a meat combine, a printing and publishing combine, etc. The Hungarian People's Republic is helping them to build a plant for processing and dyeing sheepskin and raw furs. Footnote: See Yumzhagiyn Tsendenbal, "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October and the Mongolian People," in the collection entitled Velikaya Otktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya i Mirovoye Osvoboditel'noye Dvizheniya, Vol I, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1958, pp 410-411.

From the examples of the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it is obvious that V. I. Lenin's programmatic thesis formulated in 1916 is being successfully implemented. Lenin wrote, "We have always stood for, we now stand for, and we will stand for the closest possible comingling of the knowledgeable workers of the advanced countries with the workers, peasants, and slaves of all oppressed countries.... We will strive to give those peoples who are more backward and oppressed than we our 'selfless cultural aid' as the Polish Social Democrats put it so well. In other words, we will help them to make the transition to the utilization of machines and the easing of labor. We will help them toward democracy and toward socialism." Footnote: V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol 23, p 55.

The economy of the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is growing swiftly. In the Mongolian People's Republic, the total number of livestock since the years of the revolution has increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, and the gross product of industry has grown to almost 500 times its former size in the past 17 years. In North Vietnam, from 1929 to the last pre-war year, 1939, rice production dropped, reaching 212 kilograms per capita. In 1956, in the second year after a fifteen-year war, 303 kilograms of rice per capita were produced in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In North Vietnam in 1939, there were 35 industrial

enterprises, but in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, there were more than 50 in 1956. In 1957, the industry of Albania produced almost 17 times as much as it did in the pre-war year of 1938. Albania's agricultural production in 1957 was 182 percent of that of 1938.

The successful development of the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam proves the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the possibility and necessity of a transition by backward countries to socialism and communism, bypassing capitalism, with the aid of the victorious working class of advanced countries.

In his report to the irregular 21st Congress of the CPSU, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev pointed out the prospects for the further development of socialist countries, including countries which have bypassed capitalism or bypassed the developed stage of capitalism. "In the socialist system of economy," he said, "the law of planned proportional development operates, as a result of which countries which were economically backwards in the past, relying on the experience of other socialist countries and on collaboration and mutual aid, are swiftly making up for lost time and are pulling up their economy and culture.

Thus, the general line of economic and cultural development is leveling out for all socialist countries." Footnote: N. S. Khrushchev, O Kontrol'nykh Tsifrakh Razvitiya Narodnogo Khozyaystva SSSR na 1959-1965 gody. Doklad na Vneochednom XXI S"yezde Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza 27 Yanvarya 1959 g., (Control Figures for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1959-1965. Report to the Irregular 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 27 January 1959), Gospolitizdat, 1959, pp 126-127.] Hence it follows that "the countries of socialism successfully using the opportunities inherent in the socialist system will more or less simultaneously make the transition (perekhodit') to the higher phase of communist society." Footnote: Ibid, p 126.]